555 society was constantly in transition. Quite often the parents belonged to the working class but their educated children had climbed several steps up the social ladder.

565 665 The workers' class and the intellectuals at loose ends in the cities usually made up the majority of left-wing groups. The majority of the middle class in the cities belonged to the liberal parties, and the old established farmers formed the right-wing. The new small-holders, created by the land reform, and the old farmers at first belonged to separate parties, but they later merged into one big Agrarian Party which became quite influential in the political life of Estonia (see Subparagraph 2c, POLITICAL DYNAMICS).[1]

565 186 In a national emergency, class distinctions have always been forgotten and the nation has

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 325--120-334-- Analyst]

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

177 English occupies third place, and many schools
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871 have dropped it entirely. Great emphasis is put on military training for boys and girls, this being started in the third grade. At numerous celebrations, shooting competitions between youthful teams are often part of the programs.

All schools are subordinated to the Ministry
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871 of Education (formerly Commissariat) of the Estonian SSR, which in turn receives its orders from Moscow.

883 The national and international youth organiza-
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621 tions, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, the YMCA and the YWCA, as well as all school clubs have been closed, and some reports have indicated that Estonian children are forced to join such Communist organizations as The Children of October, for children from 7 to 10 years; the Pioneers, for children from 10 to 15

883 years; and the Communist Youth (Comsomol,
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626 as it is called in Russia), for youth from 15 to 20. On the other hand, there are complaints that the number of members in these organizations is low. The unpopularity of these organizations, despite the fact the certain economic rewards are given for membership, may be due to the fact that their members act in schools as spies among fellow students and teachers.

873 Adult education which flourished in independent
208 Estonia under the Educational League has been completely liquidated and the People's Halls, the former Public Houses, are used now only for political indoctrination and anti-religious propaganda under the supervision of the Inspector of Political Education in each district and
[658] town. The numerous public libraries in villages have been reported to be almost all purged and destroyed.

467 taking advantage of the situation, attempted to dominate the unions. For this reason the institution of Factory Elders was initiated and, in larger industries, the Workers' Councils. The elders were openly elected by workers and were granted absolute protection against the employers. They served as mediators in obtaining higher wages and better working conditions for labor and usually succeeded where the trade unions had failed. Membership in the trade unions was not required in free Estonia and non-union labor succeeded in finding work as easily as did the union members. Although the trade unions had international affiliations, in Estonia they did not have such significance as they have in the United States today.

665 Labor's participation in politics was mainly through the Social Democratic Party and, in the

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665 last years of independence, through the Chamber of Workers.

461 In Soviet-occupied Estonia, as in the entire
466 Soviet Union, the employer is the State. It is a severe employer who does not permit any strikes. According to many sources, absenteeism and tardiness are very severely punished. If the worker or other employee is absent for the first time or is late for more than twenty minutes without valid reason, he may be sentenced to several months of correctional labor, which means harder work and a 25 per cent reduction in wages. If a worker is repeatedly absent, he is sentenced to jail or deported to a concentration camp. Workers are responsible for the tools with which they work, and must pay a penalty five times the value of the tool if it is destroyed. No one can leave his working place and

642 of Soviet Socialist Republics." The overwhelming majority of Estonians would be glad to do so, but no one can even express such an idea without being accused of subversion and, as a result, being severely punished.

Article 16: "The territory of the Estonian SSR may not be altered without its consent." In actual practice the Soviet Union curtailed Estonian territory during the Second Occupation, joining parts of Petserimaa and Virumaa, east of the Narva River, to Russia without even asking the consent of the Estonian people.

665 Article 20: "The highest organ of state power in the Estonian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR." In actual practice, as it is generally known, the ruler is the Communist Party, assisted by the secret police.

Article 97 provides that "the citizens of the

186 That the Estonians felt a political responsibility was shown by their participation in the War of Liberation and by the rapid progress which their country made afterwards. The Estonian press, headed by distinguished leaders of the nation, did a great deal to educate the people politically.

665 Since political parties in czarist Russia were forbidden, the majority of the Estonian parties were founded after the Russian 1917 revolution and at the beginning of independence. It took them about a decade to consolidate. In time, three distinct groups of parties developed: right-wing, center and left-wing.

The right-wing Agrarian Party had only eight deputies in the Constituent Assembly, but it grew consistenly in the following years. In the first Riigikogu (1920-23) it had 21 seats, in the fourth (1929-32) 24 seats. In 1932 the Agrarian

665 and Smallholders' parties united and assumed the new name United Farmers' and Smallholders' Party. In the fifth Riigikogu this was the strongest party, with 42 seats out of 100. The most important leaders of the party were K. Päts, J. Teemant, K. Einbund-Eespalu and J. Hünerson.

The political center was maintained mainly by the Estonian Labor Party (leaders: O. Strandmann, A. Piip, J. Kukk), the National Liberals (leaders: J. Tõnisson, J. Jackson) and the Christian Democrats (Fr. Akel). The center gradually lost popularity and to close their ranks these various parties united in 1932 into the National Middle Party, which was later joined by the small houseowners' group.

The Social Democrats were the strongest party in the Constituent Assembly, with 41

665 deputies. But they gradually lost popularity and in the fourth Riigikogu their number had decreased to 25. A more radical left-wing party, the Socialist Revolutionary Party, merged with the Social Democrats in 1925. August Rei was the most prominent leader of the Social Democrats.

After these developments, which demonstrate healthy political trends and greater political maturity on the part of the Estonians, the seats in the fifth Riigikogu (1932) were taken by the following groups:

United Farmers' and Smallholders.. 42 seats

National Middle Party..... 23 seats

Socialists..... 22 seats

The rest of the seats were held by three Communists and by various national minorities.

Two quasi-parties arose during the

665 668 constitutional crisis in the 1930's. The VABS League developed into an extreme right-wing party which had great political ambitions, but which was rather short-lived. Isamaa Liit (Patriotic League) was founded by K. Päts in February, 1935, at a time when the activities of the political parties were banned. It gave popular support to the government and assisted with the forth-coming referendum and election of the National Assembly.

666 The election of the Parliament, or Riigikogu, were the most important in Estonia. The Riigikogu was based on proportional representation, and elections were carried out under direct, universal, equal and secret suffrage. According to the First Estonian Constitution, the procedure of elections was as follows: the political parties nominated their candidates and printed the lists

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666 only 31 seem to be native Estonians, if one may judge by their names. The rest are Russians or citizens of the Soviet Union of Estonian extraction. In these elections one delegate for each 10,000 inhabitants was elected. Accordingly, [16] the population of Estonia should be now 1,250,000, since 125 delegates were elected. The increase in population, as compared with the data for 1951, is 100,000. This increase is the result mainly of the import of Russians into Tallinn and the oil-shale mining district of Virumaa.

665 The number of members in the Communist Party in Estonia is not high, that is, it is about the same as in Russia proper. Increases in the number are due mainly to Russian officials brought into Estonian for political purposes.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Estonians R64

Es. 433 464 727 167 The development of the new shale mines, shale-refining plants, electric power stations, etc., while increasing the economic potential of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, has perceptibly intensified the manpower problem from which Estonia is suffering as a consequence of the war. Thousands of Estonians fell in action during the hostilities, thousands were deported to the East by Soviet authorities in 1941 and many thousands more fled from their mother-country westward to escape the Soviet régime. The loss of such a considerable number of her inhabitants – many of them able-bodied people in the prime of life – has depleted the already scanty manpower resources of the little country. Hardly a single article on Estonian economy appearing in Soviet publications after the war has omitted to stress that Estonia's exceptional shortage of labour was a handicap for the reconstruction work in that country. This shortcoming has been remedied in the usual way, namely by importing Russian manpower in large enough numbers to fill the gaps created by the voluntary or forced exodus of the Estonians. Russian technical experts, mining engineers and skilled workers are helping to keep the wheels of Estonian economy turning. This applies especially to the 'Estonian Donbass', where can be found coal-miners from the Donets Basin and from the Moscow Province and shale-miners from the distant Volga.[21]

S.U. 164 365 While Russian colonization of Eastern Estonia is prompted by economic considerations a strategic colonization is simultaneously taking place in Estonia's 'Far West', her islands in the Baltic. The latter are important outposts of the U.S.S.R. as a whole and it is not surprising that the Soviet authorities should have sent there not only soldiers and sailors but also settlers. Thus on the small island of Vormsi, where there had never been a single Russian, there is now a Russian school with seven forms.[22] In so far as the islands preserved their Estonian character the Soviet authorities were determined to transform them into particularly reliable communist strongholds. Thus the 'movement' for the collectivization of Estonian agriculture originated under the guidance of a Russian party secretary on the island of Saarema (Ösel) where the first 'Kolkhoz' was formed in the autumn of 1947.[23]

Es. 661 665 When Soviet troops occupied Estonia in June 1940 the Estonian Communist Party was extremely small. In Estonia itself it had been decimated by the terror of the 'bourgeois régime', while the ranks of the Estonian communists in Russia had been depleted through Stalin's big purge. In the first half of 1940 small communist organizations existed in Tallin, where the party had between 120 and 150 members, and in other Estonian towns such as Tartu, Narva and Pärnu. In February 1941, over seven months after the establishment of the Soviet régime, the Estonian Communist Party had 2,107 full members and candidate-members which corresponded to 0·2 per cent of the total population of the country.* The newly recruited party members included

* *Sovetskaya Estoniya*, April 7th and 8th, 1951.

quite a number of prominent left-wing intellectuals to whom Moscow had surrendered the leading governmental posts in the country, in the absence of genuine die-hard communists. Thus the well-known Estonian historian, Hans Kruus, was at first Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Estonia, and later Foreign Minister. The poet, Johannes Semper, was Soviet Estonia's first Minister of Education. The writer and poet, Johannes Barbarus (Vares), was President of Soviet Estonia until his death in 1947. 665

All these and other leading officials of the Estonian S.S.R. used to be people of considerable standing in 'bourgeois Estonia'. They were both pro-Russian and pro-Communist, but they were also imbued with Estonian national traditions. They had all been reared in the spirit of the literary movement 'Young Estonia' (Noor Eesti), which had been both progressive and cosmopolitan in character. Its principal slogan used to be: 'More culture, more European culture. Be Estonians, but be Europeans as well'.[34] Estonian literature had been much more influenced by Western writers and poets than by Russian ones. To be cut off from Western contacts was therefore an unbearable thought to intellectual communists such as Johannes Semper, who had translated into Estonian the works of Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and Verhaeren. 517 654 177

Another tradition dear to all Estonians is that connected with the National Song Festival the first of which was held in 1869 and was the first great manifestation of Estonian nationhood. Even many Estonian communists thought that the festival, which was celebrated both under the Czarist régime and in the independent Estonian Republic, ought to be preserved as an expression of the artistic genius of the Estonian people. The Twelfth Estonian Song Festival of 1947, the first to be held in Soviet Estonia, was organized by people whom one could with some exaggeration describe as national Estonian communists. Under their leadership the festival made ideological concessions to the Soviet régime, but it was at least Estonian in form. Russian songs and Russian choirs had been kept out of it. 186 527 533

The central authorities of the U.S.S.R. could not in the long run tolerate this attitude of the Estonian intellectual *élite*, its attempt to reconcile communism with friendliness towards Western European culture. As soon as the situation was ripe, the régime had to strike its blow against the recalcitrant Estonian communists and establish total ideological uniformity in Estonia. In the spring of 1950, on the eve of a new Song Festival, the régime considered that the moment was appropriate for a big shake up. The men who in June, 1940, had lent themselves so willingly as tools of the Soviet régime were removed from their posts. The same fate was meted out even to all the Moscow-trained Estonian communists who had not given proof of sufficient vigilance in the discovery of nationalist trends in the Estonian S.S.R. 661